[For further information on oaths when used in informal settlements of disputes, see Category 627; when used in formal judicial proceedings, see Category 695.]

/129 cont./

114 stating. It is to this that the following notations, which are far
241 from claiming to exhaust the debate, will respond.
789 Often the facts, carefully collected by these ethnologists,
are indicated without statistical context. Is the sacrifice at the
[782] opening of the tillage at Bwabbût' generally practiced, or does
it follow from an exceptional, or only peculiar, attitude? That
is what the suggestive description of Mots et Choses does not
say (3).

3. E. Laoust, Mots et Choses, pp. 315 sq.

And nevertheless that is what would be essential in order to know if the fact results from the magical in the narrow sense of the term, implying a semiclandestine activity of a specialist, or from the religious, that is to say, brings into action a general social function, with reference to the divine.

/130/ On the other hand, does the commentary that ascribes
[776] the well-known beliefs in a spirit of the field to these people rest,
in the works of E. Laoust, on native expressions or on inductions
by the scholar? Certainly, posed in that manner, the question is
[778] captious. But, finally, if the notions of baraka, of good and of
[787] bad augury, and more generally that of sacred, in its specific
ambiguity, result from a mass of facts from belief and language,
one never finds any conscious expression of them. On the contrary, what one hears professed, and to the point of satiety, is the rationalistic explanation: "We do that because it is a good practical return," or else "because we are thus seeking divine favor." Or even, denials: "We never do that." Certainly, there are only elaboration and reinterpretation in these formulas. But they correspond to the stratum of Islam, which is deep. And the characteristic of a Maghrebi phenomenon is exactly to be amenable to these different orders of ideas. Thus the explanation by Laoust is legitimate, to the extent that it is completed by the contrary explanation.

114 Besides, if one gives the word magic the restrictive sense, in
121 which it was understood above, and which is that of Huvelin for
789

241 /135 cont./
796 let us note, any special denomination. The term anflus has fallen into disuse. One is called only bab llkhir, that is to say, gifted with a "good hand"; and, further, this power is expressed by paraphrases: ifulki kh-tyuga, "he is good at cultivation," 241 etc. This verbal haziness is perhaps, but not certainly, a trait 796 of decadence. However that may be, here are the results of an 619 enumeration that was meant to be exhaustive. /The following 634 enumeration, through 12, appears in small type in the original 184 source./

1. Idaw Geryun:

Village of Targa Ufella (the last before the ascent of the Tichka): all the inhabitants are descended from a single origin, the old a. Chêib. It is perhaps for that reason that there is no [525] discrimination among them. Drawing lots to inaugurate the ir- [782] rigations. On the first Saturday in May, a black goat is carried [787] to a certain rock in the mountains and sacrificed. If the blood runs, the omen is good.

At Ighelmellen, the Ih'muchcha, surviving family of the Iqorran, first occupants, inaugurate the irrigation and the moun- [782] tain pastures. Propitiatory libations, called ifyed'.

Rektu wasif: the a. Abdelkrim have the initium for water.

Zaouia of Sidi Lh'sen u Tiqqi: these are the a. Umetjar.

Ikis: general initium (and not only for water) of the a. Uêziz.

2. Ait Wasif (a. H'adduyws):

Igersafen: a. Sêid.

a. Zemlal: a. Umetjar.

a. Bah'mmo and Uzaga: the a. Th'emjit enjoy a general [784] initium, attributed to the ancestor Amer u H'addo. Period reputed to be unfavorable: Lmunah'is or Ih'h'yalen, and the lqêleb: one does not shave, one does not till, one is in mourning.

/136/ 2 /sic/. Tasa (ditto):

Villages of Fensu and Tasa: the a. Ggahi have the initium for water, are in charge of the ifyed': same interdiction as [784] above. In addition, during this period, one cannot wash the linen. The a. Umghar: initium for war.

/136 cont./

4. Idma:

241 796 619 634 184 [613] The a. Ilarzg of Usikis have the initium for putting water in the ditches. The Iseqqalen abstain from all enterprises on Monday: one time when they intended to climb to Agersili on this day some of their girls died. The a. Ikru of Ad'erd'ur and of Wanchkrir open the tillage. Here is why. For six years the Idma had remained without rain; others say seven years. The ikhs-s took turns watching for clouds on the horizon. When it was the turn of the a. Ikru, rain fell, to the general delight. Whence the present practice. The ikhs-s that open the tillage in the other villages are: for Usikis, the a. Ilarzg; for Taselli, the a. Lh'sen.

5. In Imt'ddan, the a. Uchikar open the tillage and put water in the ditches. The ait Ubaqa slaughter the cow of Lalla Aziza.

6. In ait Mh'nd, the a. Bakhkha open the tillage.

7. In ait Musa, no qualification of this sort.

8. Ait Lh'sen:

[782] Wanz'id'. Tillage: a. Hbayn; irrigations: sacrifice to sidi Lwâli on the first Friday in March; harvest: a. Mulid; war: a. Berka.

Buteghradin. Tillage: 1. a. Messâud (Sunday); irrigations ditto; harvest: ditto.

[541] [613] On the morning of the yenneyr, battle between ikhs-s by blows with clusters of nettles.

Agadir. Tillage: a. Naçr (Sunday); harvest (ditto); irrigation: a. Hammo; jumps into the fire the night of amâchur.

[541] Battle by blows with clusters of nettles.

[578] [262] [613] Awinas. Tillage: a. Amar; harvest ditto; irrigation, a. Umâli. Aspersions between ikhs-s on the morning of amâchur; dinner of porridge the night of the innair.

Ighilen. Tillage: a. Messâud (Sunday); harvest: ditto; irrigation: a. Lechger. Same custom as above.

[578] [262] [541] Tabratjut. Tillage: a. Mençur (Sunday); harvest ditto; irrigation: a. Ufqir Lh'sen. Custom of aspersions on the morning of the amâchur and of the porridge the night of the Yenneyr; battle by blows with clumps of grass.

/136 cont./

241 9. Ibuban:

796 Amasin. Tillage: a. Addi u Lh'sen (Sunday); irrigation:
619 ditto; harvest: ditto; war: ditto.

Talburt i-yggayzen. Tillage: a. Wakrim Uâli; harvest
634 from the remise of the "Friday" for sidi Mh'and.

184 Tugg Lkhayr. Tillage: a. Bumellut (Sunday); irrigations: a. Bihi u Addi; harvest: a. Bihi u Addi.

Timskert. Tillage: a. Ali Wakrim; irrigation ditto; harvest: a. Lh'sen Wakrim and a. Âli Wakrim; war: ditto.

[782] 10. Iguntar. Tillage: a. Lâsri (Sunday); irrigation: sacrifice to sidi Mh'nd; harvest: a. Lâsri, war: Ineqqachen.

/137/ 11. Sekrat:

Amsgerdat. Tillage: a. Urjdal (Sunday); irrigation: a. Wârab. Custom of the porridge. Harvest: a. Wârab. Custom of the amâchur; no linen washed, penitence.

F-umazir. Tillage: a. H'emmo (Sunday); harvest: a. Çalh'; irrigation: ditto. Custom of amâchur as above, for the a. Çalh' only.

Tagddut. Tillage: a. Bihi (Sunday); harvest: a. u Lârj
[783] (Sunday); irrigations: a. Ukhezzaz; penitence: on the day of amâchur for the a. Bihi.

[783] Tigumma n-Skrat. Tillage: a. Musa (Sunday); harvest: a. Warir (Sunday); irrigation: ditto. Custom of amâchur, penitence of the a. u Musa.

[613] 12. Ait Abdella. This taqbilt, important in size, wealth, habitat, and numerous in its ikhs-s, does not acknowledge the initium in agricultural matters for any of the latter. Only the a. Wanz'id', descendants of sidi Musa, the saint of the high mountains, bestow good augury in the matter of military expeditions.

121 A question is posed first of all as to the generality of these
241 practices: a generality in which the nature of the account that
796 ethnographers give concerning them and maybe also the very fashion in which the local informants describe them would lead one to believe. Secondly, what character should one ascribe to them: sacred or profane? A difficult distinction which only a

/138 cont./

241 exceptional. In most cases, one can only conjecture the motives
796 of the vocations: antiquity, whence legitimacy (theme of the
613 autochthony); holiness, power, or, on the contrary, sanctimonious poverty. There one certainly touches an old, but defaced and almost unintelligible foundation. There remains concretely only a notion of unequal qualification among ikhs-s.

The meaning attributed to this practice of the initium is also unclear. One expects good augury from it: it is the type of very vague benefit that is also attributed to other agrarian ceremonies: those of the yenneyr, of the amâchur, or of this tafaska with a name almost certainly Mediterranean ("la Pâque" /Passover/).
[771] But no more. These practices are qualified as idolatry, açnâm, even by their faithful, who can very well and spontaneously distinguish them from the rites of orthodoxy, from the cult of the saints, or from communal practices.

Here it cannot be a question of analyzing the subjective aspect of these practices. Besides, differences between them are
● [782] evident. The libations of ifyed', where they are practiced, owe to the demonologic reference their characteristic precision and liveliness. Whether the interpretation is a good one is another
[541] question. On the other hand, the battles by blows with clods of earth, bunches of nettles, jars of water (1)

1. Good observations by F. Gorjon, "Les rites du feu et de l'eau chez les Berbères du Maroc /Fire and water rites among the Berbers of Morocco/," Bull. EPM, 1952, pp. 199 sq. (for a region very close to ours).

171 are in the province of games and tend to affect only the youth in Seksawa, like our carnival. Elsewhere, on the contrary, among the Frûga, for example, the ceremony unleashes the whole community for a day, and the aspersions are mixed with equestrian contests. Everyone has his opinion on these practices. The superstitious, the joker, the strong-willed, the village bumpkin,

[Ait Musa Ufella]

312 628 782 /200 cont./ Thus a whole part of the agriculture of the a. Musa depends on relations of neighborliness and propitiatory sacrifices which are made each time, in case of need, to the marabouts of Aduz. This irregularity, with 312 423 613 phases of unconditional abundance when the ditch runs high, and of restriction or even scarcity, results in the fact that the administration of the water does not correspond to a division among ikhs-s. The water is distributed either at the discretion of each one or, in case of need, by small groups of contiguous parcels, s-irubba. No "turn" properly speaking.

Distribution of the quarters among ikhs-s
in the terrain of the ait Musa Ufella (Fig. 9)

1) List of the names of ikhs:

a) Ait Chtittihi.
b) Ait Bu-setta.
c) Ait J'j'amid.
d) Ait Watchaw.
e) Ait H'mad.
f) Ait Jjaw.
g) Imzilen.
h) Ait Si Addi.
i) Ait Wabgur.
j) Ait Umazwur.
k) Ait Wakrim.
l) Ait Mzird'ad'.
m) Ait Lkessas.
n) Ait Imij.
o) Ait Lmekhtar.
p) Ait H'sayn.
q) Ait H'med u Jibbu.
r) Ait u Châlb.

2) List of the names of quarters:

1. Tameselnt.
2. Ammayn.
3. Ddu-Wanghemmi.
4. Tkunt.
5. Targa meqqurn.
6. Agergiwn.
7. Igidar.
8. Imi n-talat.
9. Imlaln-an.
10. Tariat't' n-Dtaĝli.
11. Imiri y-igwrramen.
12. Ddu-wjjin.
13. Imi n-urtan-an.
14. Tikid'a n-ait Brahim.
15. Talat n-Teddart.
16. Imegzart.
17. Imejjad'-an.
18. Aryad'n-an.
19. Ult-teskri.
20. Azarn-an.
21. Timejderra.
22. Igherman-an.
23. Dar u- Weswik.
24. Lemkhazin.
25. Imi n-tebratjut.
26. Iussran.
27. Ddu-wgwadir.
28. Ibh'ir.
29. Inebdar.
30. Ameslen.
31. Timzughin.
32. Tukhribin.

/239 cont./
000 correlative traits without doubt. The religious life of the Sek-
791 sawa has undoubtedly been hierarchized for a long time. At the
796 top, a national saint. Far below, a saint of more ordinary type, Sidi Mh'and of Ammern; accessit: Sidi Lah'sen of Assttif, recent historical personage; still lower the classic plebe of "good little saints." In rite, as in belief, vigorous centralization, but, by /240/ that itself, elimination, purification. The great majority of these plebeians of prayer remain without visage, without cult, indeed without name. Over the great ones is exercised a criticism which springs not only from the malice of the milieu or from problematical orthodox influences, but undoubtedly also from the imperious polarization of the system.

778 On the other hand, the nonfigurative sacred abounds. It has
782 as support, very often, these little village mosques from where, it is said, the prayer ascends directly to God, whereas in passing by way of its saints it risks hitting only the archangel Gabriel, Sidna Jebrir. The pious explanation leaves out the communal character of the sanctuary. But this character is very important, and very
779 likely the most ancient. On this level of local life traits of indivision are always observed among religious and juridical rites. In spite of so many external influences, and internal transformations, this is still in many respects one of the foundations of the life of the groups. Only, in religious matters, as in juridical matters, this narrowly local life is integrated into an ensemble which acts upon it at least as much as it acts upon it.

Situation of Seksawa Law in Relation to Its Neighbors

671 The Seksawa feel a fundamental difference between their law
[829] and that of their neighbors, like them old sedentary peoples of
[184] the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, such as especially Idaw Mh'mud, Demsira, Dwiran, people of the Haut Asif el-Mâl and of the Aghbar. They fail to analyze it. In fact, their law fits into the Chleuh /Shluh/ ensemble. It stands out only by differences in detail. But they are vigorous and, so to speak, systematic.

/249 cont./
539 saint had died. We have never known the exact site of the spring,
776 and, since that time, we have vainly searched in every corner of
823 the orchard, but undoubtedly the water is no longer there, now that the saint has gone."

This account was given by a mature and sober personage, our contemporary to boot (2).

[634] 2. The amghar /chief/ of the a. Abdella.

538 Its value is only more striking because of that. Not only a psy-
776 chological document concerning the narrator, who is not at all a
823 good woman amused by stories. But, more objectively, an anec-
789 dote illustrating the functioning of the sacred on the agricultural plane. That is a plane essential to this society. It constantly explains hydraulic phenomena by the intervention of a saint. It is thus that a rock, obstructing the ditch of Meghdir, will one fine day be bored as a tunnel by a miraculous fox, whom Sidi Mh'nd animates. The latter is the great discoverer of springs of the whole country, which contributes to the classicism of his kind. His "crook," takurayt, planted in earth, caused to shoot forth the fine resurgence which, /250/ between T'abaya and Igernssuq, reanimated the bed of the river, absolutely dry immediately upstream.

Such practices as these burst forth with a color that vividly reminds one of the Mediterranean Antiquity. Some of them have
823 been reported above. The most striking is this libation of flour
782 and milk that certain high-mountain families pour into the communal "basin" at the opening of the irrigations. At Tasa, for example, a member of the old lineage of the ait Ggahi carries the vessel to the chcharij and pours it there, while saying only one word, the bismillah. The operation is designated by a stereotyped term, ifyed', which may be translated as "expulsion," by comparing it with its factitive açifed. If the bearer, on the way, [784] has pronounced a single word, the operation is no longer valid: fine case of ritual mutism, euphèmei as the Greeks said.

/250 cont./

823 771 There one touches on a plane more archaic and more profound than that of personifications. Behind the silhouettes of saints and under them one perceives a whole web of relations between the man or, rather, between the group and a sacred of agricultural efficiency entirely destitute of figure. And it is this layer which is the most important in mass as it probably is in authenticity.

82 782 Not only the water of irrigation, but the benevolent rain and, inversely, the devastating hurricane and the flood, the health and the sickness of plants, of beasts, and of men are subject to powers, most often without a name. The force released by the oath, if in the least it be taken in certain redoubtable places, or at the critical epoch which precedes ddabaran, "Aldebaran," turns against the crops of the canton, without there being any question of retribution or of moral judgment. But there are accommodations, and not only by an offering to the patron saints 823 or propitiatory and piacular rites, but by guile. It is thus that 782 the favor of the water chooses the valley of Wanz'id' or that of Iguntar, depending on the alacrity with which one or the other of these two villages honors the unnamed saint of Tamd'a Ugenni. But it suffices, let us say, "to fix a date" with him by depositing a hoe upon his sanctuary, and the trick will be played: one will have reconciled pious eagerness and wise economy. Elsewhere 778 the guile will be close to swindling. Thus with this miraculous 823 stone from which a spring is said to have gushed forth and which a passing holy man is said to have left to the village of Agawz. A citizen of Tuz'z'umt patriotically stole it, and that is why there is now a spring for each of the two villages (1).

1. The "theft" of the stone doubtlessly constitutes a reinterpretation. The rite of Wanz'id' is probably more intact. Agrarian magic, juridical separation, and group rivalry are revealed here in an instructive fashion.

[Ait Abdella]

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Name of the groups officiating	Name of the sanctuary	Characteristics of the saint, if there is occasion	Nature of the dues or feast	Time of celebration
Bul^{c}wân, Taqennurt.	Sidi Ghânem.	This is a bu qobrayn, that is, he has two tombs, one here, the other in H'âh'a (Zaouia Isuqin). For officiants, he has people of Idaw Zemzem and those of Wanz'ig and Ad'erras (Mtugga) who bring him an annual victim. He would have manâqib.	Chchard': per threshing floor, the first basketful of barley.	March. At the threshings.
Taqennurt.	Sidi Mh'and Aregrag.	Indeterminate.	Mârûf: a goat.	September.
Tuz'z'umt and Zaouia In'ançalen.	Sidi Sâid Ah'ançal.		Mârûf: two goats, one of which is slaughtered at the zaouia and the other at the place named Qerqur n-a ben Nâçer.	February.

[Ait Abdella]

/257 cont./

221 241 776 778 782 796	Bul^{c}wân (ikhs of the a. si Mh'and u Bella) and Agawz (ikhs of the a. bu Hammis).	Sidi Abderrah'man u Sâid.	Ancient, indeterminate.	Mârûf: 5 to 10 goats. Chchard': a takharrubt of barley per foyer, some walnuts, some almonds.	September. At the harvest.
	Bul^{c}wan. a. Wagenna. Taz'z'umt. Agawz.	Mosques timezgadiwin.		Mârûf, biannual.	At the time of the fruits and at that of the harvest.
	Agawz.	Sidi bu Çwalh'i.	Ancient, indeterminate.	Mârûf: a goat.	September.
	The ensemble of the a. Abdella.	Sidi Âli Aregrag; sidi Âbderrah'man. (Zaouias of Tiburiin and Talâint.)	Linked to the legend and genealogy of the Regraga.	Mârûf: a bovine.	First Sunday in February, eight days before the mârûf of sidi Sâid, at the confines of the Azaghar of the Mtugga.

/258/ Thus, out of a dozen ritual places, including mosques, one single personalized saint, Sidi Ghânem, and still blurred in some indefinite haze.

The animal sacrificed to Sidi Ghânem gives rise to a precise division. The descendants of the saint have the skin and a piece of the thigh. The agape consumes half the entrails, to which is joined the collected bread. The rest, divided among all those sacrificing, is taken home and eaten.

In Imt'ddan:

Name of the groups serving	Name of the sanctuary	Characteristics of the saint, if there is occasion	Nature of the dues or feast	Period of celebration
Tamt'ddit.	Ah'med u Amer.	Indeterminate. The a. Izzid (Imt'ddan) are linked to him.	Mârûf.	Summer.
			Mârûf.	With the rains.
	Mosque.		Agape.	Irrigation of the barley.
Tagunit and Tamezgurt.	Sidi Messâud u Âbdallah.	Indeterminate, but going back to the a. Gasa.	Mârûf.	Summer.
	Sidi Âzza.	Indeterminate.	Mârûf.	Departure to mountain pastures.
	Mosque.		Agape.	Irrigation of the barley.
Tamezgurt.	Sidi bu Lqnadil.	Indeterminate, but going back to the a. Gasa.	Mârûf.	Summer.
	Mosque.		Agape.	Irrigation of the barley.

[Imt'ddan]
[Ait Musa]

/258 cont./

Tinwalin.	Sidi Borrja. Mosque.	Indeterminate.	Agape.	Yenneyr, irrigation of the barley.
All the Imt'ddan.	Tamejlocht.	Mansion of Lalla Aziza.	Rite of absolution.	Irrigation of the barley.

The indetermination is general here, even though most of the saints are linked to former occupants of the country, habitual homage to the antiquity of habitat. This indetermination is at its peak in the Frazerian rite of the Tamjlocht.

/259/ In a. Musa:

Name of the groups serving	Name of the sanctuary	Characteristics of the saint, if there is occasion	Period of celebration
Igernssuq.	Regraga.	Indeterminate.	
	Sidi Brahim u Sliman.	--	
	Lalla Mbarka u H'med.	--	
	Timezgida Iregragen.	--	
Tannammert and lower a. Musa.	Sidi bu Merwan.	Indeterminate, place of taking oaths.	The saints have a summer mârûf, and the mosques, two agapae: "at the time of the turnips" and "at the time of the gourds." /Continued on next page./

[Ait Musa]
[Ait H'adduyws]

259 cont.

221 241 776 778 • 782 796 T'abya.	Mosque Sidi Borrja or Cheikh n-Tgemmi.	Ind. This is "the lord of the house" or "of the tower" or "of hope."	Certain saints, like Sidi bu Meŕwan and Sidi Yah'ya, had two mârûf-s. The first has fallen into desuetude. The other saints each have one mârûf.
	Timezgida Ugni.	Ind. "Monsieur light."	
	Sidi Tifawt.		
Tabratjut.	Sidi Yah'ya. Sidi Ghanen. Sidi Mh'and.	Indeterminate.	
	Uh'ormi.	Ind. The saint "of the asylum."	

In a. H'adduyws:

776 778 /The following paragraphs, through d, are in small type in the original source./ The ritual places are split up there, almost exhaustively, as follows:

a) Saints with personal figure and with descent: 4. They are Sidi Âmer u H'addô and Sidi Lh'sen u Tiqqi, the greatest; an obscure "Regragi," but claimed as ancestor by the ikhs of the a. Umzil at Fensu, Sidi Bensu; the ancestor, full of imagry, of a part of Ikis: Sidi Yusef u Buzid;

b) Unnamed and for the most part called Regraga. Among them, 5 "Sidi Borrja." This is perhaps merely a saint of the old tower, of the old little fort (ar /Arabic/: burj). But from this saint of ruins a pun makes a saint "of good hope" (ar: rajâ). Let us mention finally the Regraga of Wawnsawt;

/270 cont./

776 794 The a. Sograti (Haut Dwiran) receive no more than facultative gifts. It is the same for the Nâçiriyya of Tamgrût, indeed fallen from their former preponderance.

It would be difficult and, I believe, futile to try to date the origin of these dues which, in the case of the chchard', evoke a consensual dispute between the flock and the saint. The latter is bound to protect the group according to his little speciality in exchange for what we would call in commercial terms a "subscription." It is to the "ancestors," a vague and dilatory expression, that these obligations, it is said, date back. What is striking, in any case, is the total diversity that reigns here as much in what concerns the extension of the group of officiating ministers as in the mode of relation instituted, as in the material of the cens or its proportion in relation to the harvest.

/The next six paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ Thus the Imt'ddan are par excellence the servants of Lalla Aziza. Each foyer owes her the first basketful of agricultural products at the clearing away of the threshing floor (cereals) or of the pile (fruit). These first-fruit offerings are carried ceremoniously to Z'init' on the first Thursday in March: this is called a ççadaqa, but it also gives rise, with the people of Z'init', to a tinubga, that is, a syssitia, as was said in classical Antiquity. [571] The relations between these two groups are in fact complex: relations of religious co-operation regulated down to the details. If the Imt'ddan provide the meat for the banquet, the people /271/ of Z'init' provide the bread. The event has even given rise to an etiological legend.

773 776 794 782 During the course of an expedition in Haut Gedmiwa, the Seksawa one day found themselves in danger. Encircled by the enemy, they could no longer hope for help. One of them had the idea of consecrating to Lalla Aziza, in the event that he escaped, an income of two loaves of bread on the day of sacrifice. Immediately a dark cloud, accompanied by a downpour and thunder, fell between the combatants, and screened the flight of the Seksawa. It is for this reason that on the day of the sacrifice

793 /271 cont./
776 the people of Z'init' henceforth give 24 loaves of bread apiece,
794 instead of 22 as before. The anecdote seems like an excerpt
782 from Pausanias.

But the Imt'ddan do not restrict their homage to Lalla Aziza
776 alone. They furnish Sidi Abdallah u Sâid of the a. Tamment
794 1/30 of their cereals, a similar portion going to their mosques,
[431] and still another to the poor. In addition, each foyer pays a kid
[735] every two years.

They also give the descendants of Sidi ᶜAyad, still in the Sous, offerings of a discretionary amount, but owe him a feast every year and a kid every two years. The village of Tagunit, and it alone, pays a cens to the neighboring zaouia of Assttif. Lastly, a sheep is sent to the fqih of the Mez'u'd'a for "Easter," that is, for his tafaska (oblation of the Aid Ççghîr).

The differentiation of the recipients is therefore extreme, like that of the donors, even within a small canton. The proportionality observed concerning these parts of the harvest itself is to be noted. Here 1/30.

In the a. Lh'sen, it is the rhythm of one measure per 80 tin s-tmanin that is applied for the dues in barley and maize; one for 100 counted for the nuts, etc. With regard to the "Friday" of butter, the rite is generally observed.

794 It is in the a. Lh'sen that examples will be taken up again in order to study another aspect, that of the remittance to the beneficiaries. In general, the latter divide among themselves by geographic sector the benefices of the chchard' called tisura,
794 equivalent copied from the ar. /Arabic/ futûh'ât. They inherit
437 them, distribute them, mortgage their revenues, sell them, or assign them by drawing lots, as if they were dealing with a mobilizable right: and, in fact, this is what it is. So true is it that the institution of the Atlas juxtaposes in clever shales, if I may venture to say it, the most diverse orders of ideas. In the case at hand, the "mystical" aspect and profane aspect adhere closely. The alienability of a transferable share is one with the ritual entity. Commercialization and the sacred are juxtaposed

/277 cont./
175 794 675 [876] [126]
the usual procedure of these obligations of group to patron. Such testimony is rare: the beneficiaries keep them secret (2).

2. We have been able, however, to procure for ourselves at the zaouia of the Mez'ud'a one of these acts, which we reproduce as Figure 10, page 390.

Perhaps even many of these contracts are pure etiology of a custom in being and for which one should have tried to place the origin and to find the explanation.

796 Let us pass now to a second element of institution: these mâruf-s of which there has already been mention many times. This word, used here rather than that of musem, has been attested since an ancient epoch and paradoxically combines the Koranic notion of "good" and that of "customary usage." Veritable play on words, which seems intended, since a number of customary codifications have feigned to be based on it and sometimes even yet it is invoked by /278/ /Fig. 10 appears here/ /279/ innovating jurists. The mârûf is the seasonal rite incumbent on a [782] group with regard to a saint. It usually includes a blood sacrifice, tighersi, but differs from other gatherings, such as the tinubga or 796 tiwilt, which have no religious import. The chchard' is found in 675 the old acts in the form of testamentary prescriptions, accompanied by invocations and conditional curses: last words of the dying saint to his servants. Sometimes accompanied by homilies, it constitutes, for multisecular lapses, the charter regulating the relations of a group with the local representative of the sacred.

794 Several saints possess an estate, rras l-mâl, maintained from [776] year to year by the sale of pieces of meat. This sale is done at [423] auctions. It releases the emulation, itself ostentation, which this [432] kind of concourse calls up. But the money owed is almost never [452] demandable until the following year. An embryo of credit thus [693] forces its way through. It includes inscription on written rolls and the montagnard notariate is actively occupied with it. Elsewhere we have described the demarcations between the profane

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 391]

794 /289/ Such are the regular revenues, veritable fisc of the holiness, which the foqra collect on a side of the Atlas populated by some 45,000 souls. But it is necessary to increase these figures tenfold if one adds the fortuitous: offerings brought sometimes from great distances on the occasion of feasts or after vows, and peregrinating quests made individually. These quests make the foqra traverse the two versants of the mountain and lead them into all the groups of the circum-Tichka ensemble.

794 221 [782] The liaison of these collections to the agricultural calendar clothes them in a very vivid naturist color. In these high valleys it is sometimes the cessation of the snowfall and of the constant water in the bed of the torrents that leads to the opening of the ditches and then gives rise to offerings or propitiatory sacrifices; sometimes the successive harvests or gatherings (barley, maize, almonds, walnuts) that set into motion the opening rite. In all cases, a meticulous collective solidarity spreads the obligation and the benediction that follows over the ensemble of the foyers. I mean the conjugal foyers in the narrow sense, takatin. And indeed it is to be observed that the order of distribution is not gentilitial. There are certainly particular devotions by such-and-such an ikhs to such-and-such a saint. But the grouping of villages among them, for the service of the offering, occasionally also breaks away from the solidarity of habitat or of taqbilt. The most habitual division of the collective financings of profane type is that which is most generally applied in the matter: it is calculated on the effective force of the foyers. And this mode has prevailed over the gentilitial rhythm, so much more suitable for the agrarian order and the structure of the groups. This exclusion of the ikhs as the base of religious fiscality is to be kept in mind.

794 [592] 794 613 [592]

794 [137] Among the commodities subject to the tithe, let us note that if the maize, a relatively recent plant (sixteenth century), figures in it, and has probably supplanted millet there, the mention of the olive, wealth of the lower valley, but which ascends to Z'init', is rare. The reasons for this anomaly are forgotten. Perhaps it expresses only a montagnard style, the bulk of the nationals of Lalla Aziza living above the limit of the olive tree.

/291 cont./

The Rite

796 782 First, there are, as has been seen, two great sacrifices to Lalla Aziza. The one is inserted in the naturist calendar already opened by all the collections of the first fruits, of which it is in a way the culminating act. It is generally called tighersiwin, "the /292/ immolations," and it takes place on the 15th of yulyuz, the "July" of the Julian calendar. The other coincides with the nativity of the Prophet, this Mîlâd, whose institution in Morocco and systematic generalization by the Mérinides toward the fifteenth century invaded little by little all of North Africa and became the orthodox repository for a multitude of orgiastic rites. At Z'init' the appearance and the meaning of these two manifestations differ notably. Let it be judged.

The feast of yulyuz consists of the sacrifice of bovines processionally offered by Idma, Imt'ddan, a. Musa, a. Mh'and, and sometimes a. Lh'sen and a. H'adduyws.

The beasts are assembled upstream from the tomb, above the cemetery of sidi bu Lqnadel, who would be, one will remember, H'addo, the eponym of the Haut Seksawa. Then the procession [533] begins to sing a Prophetic litany, doubtlessly intended to furnish the othodox endorsement of the ceremony. "In your honor, Moh'ammed! It is the Prophet whom we place at our head." This formula is used elsewhere in similar ceremonies; it is heard in any case at Ammem. The crowd arrives at an area equipped as a market on the parvis of the tomb. Each chief slits the throat [787] of his beast. The victim jumps in movements eagerly viewed by the crowd, which confers omen value upon them. The chief washes his hands and his dagger in an earthen vessel that is presented to him. A savage scene. The beasts lie with throat cut open, exhaling a forge's blowing through their open tracheae, [634] while dogs lap up the blood that spreads. Then the invocation starts, at which the moqaddem presides and which consists of hopes for family, agricultural, and political prosperity. The [171] sacrifice is what it is classically on similar occasions in other regions of Morocco. The only two things to be noticed are the

/292 cont./

796 initial gathering above sidi bu Lqnadel (connection with the old
782 royal cycle?) and the direction of the procession. It is carried out from upstream downstream, even for the offerings from the plain. This latter trait and the mediocrity of the affluence contrast radically with what happens at the feast of the Mîlâd.

At this time the richness and the precision of the rite are more perceptible, and the atmosphere without any doubt richer.
[619] The victim is a cow, offered by the Imt'ddan and their a. Irro emigrants. Perhaps because they are the original group of the saint or, better, the substitute for this group. The victimary is traditionally furnished by the family of the a. Baqqa, from
[619] Tagunit (Imt'ddan). It is also this taqbilt that supplies the flagellants. The procession departs from downstream, below the mosque. Same Prophetic litany. The victim is led, the one sacrificing it holding it by the left horn, a naked dagger /293/ in the right, as far as below the "house of Lalla Aziza." The house has an inner court and a high open chamber as loggia, and where women are gathered, as they are on the neighboring terraces. The whole infinitely motley. People armed with bludgeons precede the cow a little. They face it, screaming and brandishing bare sticks or olive branches. The victimary slits the throat of the beast. If
[787] the latter rises in a jump, good omen. Cries, ho hos /Fr. youyous/, and confusion, amidst which a marabout from Assttif says the fâth'a, while the victim is skinned. It disappears under a yelling cluster of the faithful who rush beneath the blows to tear away some skin, some meat, by hand or with a knife. Upon the arrival of the cow, an old woman kissed it between the two horns. As soon as the blood spurts forth, there is a rush: one fills a bottle with it, another besmears his face, many the eyes. Simultaneously, the throats of two sheep are slit, one offered by Assttif, the other by Wanchkrir. The blood of hens colors, however, the downstream threshold of the zaouia. Then the degree of emotion, perceptible from the beginning, becomes extreme. Excitement reaches its peak. The animal, finally dismembered, is put to cook in the large pots that the house shelters. Divided into fragments, it will be carried in all directions by those present,

796 /293 cont./
782 who will sanctify new kitchens at home with it, a single little piece sufficing to bestow the benefic effluvium on a whole dish.

796 Despite the atmosphere of apprehension, a diagram of wor-
782 ship allows itself, as can be seen, to be recognized. Determina-
182 tion of the minister: he belongs to a family of the Imt'ddan, so
[823] close to the saint, to whom they attribute among other miracles the distribution of the springs among their villages. Association of an accessory agent who is precisely the vehicle of orthodoxy: the marabout of Assttif, whose intervention, it is not useless to recall, is necessarily quite late, since his zaouia goes back only to the seventeenth century. The veritable ministers here are this pack of individuals, associates and rivals at the same time in the dispute with blows for the conquest of a hallowed parcel. They are no longer, as in the rite of July, collective members of the tribal gathering, but volunteers. The usual techniques of collective exaltation, contrasting, in their tumultuary individualization, with the official order of July, stand out splendidly here. The real paroxysm evidently results from the violence with which the faithful hack away and tear at the victim beneath the blows.

[783] The first interpretation, one of our own making, is naturally rationalist and modest: the people would be atoning for their sins through the mortification of blows with sticks. But it is more precise to relate this rite to so many other agrarian rites calling for /294/ struggles or violence (1).

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1. Cf. concerning rites of conflict, bibliography in W. Marçais, Textes arabes de Takrouna /Arabic texts of Takrouna/, 1925, p. 224, n. 39, and description, p. 201. Flagellation is often linked to the idea of scapegoat. Cf. J. G. Frazer, Le bouc émissaire /The scapegoat/, P. Sayn tr., 1925, p. 234, who cites Westermarck (p. 235) concerning Moroccan rites. In a domain close to ours, the I. T'anan, R. Montagne has given a vivid description of the combat occasioned by the musem of the a. Tinkert. He

/294 cont./

796 782 182 171 783

/footnote 1 continued/ compares it rightly to the simulated struggle indulged in at the mwuggar of sidi Ah'med u Musa. In. /unpublished/ note on the Idaw T'anan, arch. of Imintanout, pp. 38, 39. Let us cite finally, without a hidden motive of comparison, and, if one wishes, for simple "curiosity," this description of old Egyptian ritual: "At night, thousands of persons, armed with sticks, keep watch around the temple; some want to keep anyone from reinstating in his naos a statue of the god ..., others want, on the contrary, to facilitate the entrance of the god. The actors, who are beneath the portico, deny access to the temple; the crowd, running to the assistance of the god, attacks them; they defend themselves; a violent combat with blows from sticks ensues, and many skulls are cracked." (A. Moret, Le Nil et la civilisation égyptienne /The Nile and the Egyptian civilization/, 1926, p. 294.)

796 782 182 (785) (783) Flagellation even intervenes there at times, linked to the ideas of the scapegoat and purification. Not far away in the Atlas, at sidi Brahim near Asni, a camel is similarly slaughtered and skinned by the faithful, who tear at its flesh under the blows. At sidi Abdallah u H'sayn, of Tameçluh't, the head of the animal is carried away and fought over on the run by two rival parties (2).

2. Observations kindly communicated by G. Delaye.

Finally, the communional aspect which the distribution of the meat suggests (3).

(171) 3. An aspect which moreover is more pronounced in other North African rites, for example, that of the Kabyle saint Sidi ᶜAli n-Funas at Tizi Ouzou.

/294 cont./

796 782 182 and which in other ceremonies a laic or municipal climate attenuates or eliminates, bursts out here in all its zeal. In the region one would find such a force only at the October musem of sidi Âli u Brahim of the Idaw T'anan: the dispute is unleashed, not around a skinned victim, but around a paste to be eaten collectively.

In sum, the Mîlâd of Z'init', with an exceptional clearness and richness, comes under the jurisdiction of these rites by which rural societies perform "an uninterrupted series of concentrations and diffusions" (4)

> 4. Definition by H. Hubert and M. Mauss, "Essai sur la nature et la fonction du sacrifice /Essay on the nature and function of the sacrifice/," Ann. soc., t. II, p. 114.

of the sacred, with the aim of assuring the continuation of the life of things and of drawing closer the relations of this life with that of the group. A difficulty, however, and even an anomaly. Not so much that the ceremony assumes an Islamic coloring; that is only normal. But how is one to explain that it has been dissociated from the July ceremony? The latter has remained purely civic and naturist. Its content has become impoverished, thinner. On one hand, seasonal insertion and official intervention of the groups. On the other, patronage of the Prophet, justifying, in an intense, ecstatic debauch, an old rite which is at the same time agrarian, expiatory, and /295/ communional. When did this dissociation intervene? The feast of yulyuz, also called musem or even muslem, would have been instituted less than a century ago, as other Seksawa musem-s have been subsequently. However that may be, the incontestable fact lies in the contrast between the two ceremonies and this kind of division of labor which operates between them. Let us take note of this characteristic, amenable to these meticulous balances or divisons that one finds so frequently in Chleuh /Shluh/ society, each time that it compounds with something that is not itself. In the case at hand, there is moreover a

/295 cont./

796 782 182 notation on the enormous problem of the division between the profane and the sacred on one hand, and, on the other, between the different sources of sacred, which takes place in this milieu with the accountant and classificator genius.

The dispute of the Mîlâd is related, as has been seen, to the very name of the place, pronounced with a doubling of the initial, z'z'init, and interpreted as an invitation of the saint to quarrel over her body. Is this not an etymological pun, or is the rite itself only a liturgical exposition of the name? The first interpretation seems preferable. If one relates a legendary trait, that of the rivalry over the body of the saint (1),

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1. That is a classical trait, cf. W. Marçais, Textes arabes de Takrouna, 1925, p. 217, n. 21. Sometimes, correlatively, the corpse of the saint itself manifests its choice for an emplacement: C. Trumelet, Algérie légendaire /Legendary Algeria/, 1892, pp. 65, 166, 243, 452; Les saints de l'Islam /The saints of Islam/, 1881, p. 31.

to a ritual trait, the dispute over the body of the victim, the possibility of assimilation, quite classical, between one body and the other comes to mind. That would carry the explanation into a very old atmosphere. It would naturally be imprudent to conclude on such a hypothesis. At the very most it would have the merit of achieving the displaying of the virtualities of the rite and its full religious resonance, of a richness unusual in the Maghreb.

The History

796 175 In contrast to the preceding, let us now go on to the historical cross-checkings. What can we know of the real personality of Lalla Aziza? and, first of all, did this personage authentically 796 551 171 exist? Her name is not common, as has been seen. What would be more so would be Azzô or Azzûna. The Moroccan Middle

/307 cont./

796 to be added the proceeds of the large feast celebrated each year
794 at Ammern itself and the fees for the pilgrimages to the tomb of sidi Mh'and.

This is not the place to pursue this kind of evaluation. The above figures will nevertheless give a sufficient idea of the economic support of the hagiology in Seksawa and of the role that it plays in the circulation of goods, as a center of attraction and consumption.

796 For some fifty years, on the tenth of September, Ammern
782 has been the seat of a so-called immolation ceremony, tighersiwin, like that of Lalla Aziza, which, however, is older. An ox is sacrificed by each canton of the Seksawa, to which are added
[184] the Iberhan. The resemblances with the ceremony of /308/ Lalla Aziza are great, except that the procession here goes in the direction of up the valley, up to an area situated above the sanctuary. The same Mohammedan litany resounds there, grandiose in this rugged spot. Then offerings in money are deposited, while in the
796 sanctuary the recitations of the scholars buzz. The crowd presses in, curious, moved. Business is done: animals, olives, almonds. One strikes up acquaintances; one makes agreements for betrothals or other combinations. A moralist mountebank says, matched with emphatic gesticulations, the h'ddit, "homily of instruction" on the duties of prayers, ablutions, etc. He catechizes his audience, whom he has had put the hands together in the gesture of vow, ddu^{c}a. And undoubtedly he will not hasten to have it reopen them too soon, for he puts it little by little in a state, not of trance, but of emotion and plenitude, of which the final collection will feel the effect. With moving gestures, cleverly intermixing his sermon with religious couplets, chants, interrogations ad hominem, shaking a sheet covered with characters that he pretends to consult, even though he does not know how to read, he impresses the good people, from whom he elicits from time to

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/346/ This took place in the middle of the seventeenth century. It is a matter of a pious personage, a holy man and converter. His family is from the Drâ, from which the Saâdians had surged forth in the preceding century in an intense religious and martial fermentation. Let us not take this evidence for anything other than what it is: an isolated trait in the present state of the examinations. But, as such, it does not cease to be disturbing, as much by what it reveals of the practices of the period as by its orthodoxy, still of a bizarre taste.

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But do we not find the trace of former organizations in the Z'init' fair for wives? According to some evidence from the fourteenth century, the saint camped surrounded by two separate groups: the women and the men. It is not impossible that this was an indication of a classificatory rite. Even now the promise exchanged by the fiancés during the exaltation of the feast and the sacrifice near the tomb of Lalla Aziza creates an irremissible obligation. A man from the Gedmiwa who had ventured to escape from it was found a few years ago hung in his room. Trace of former collective functions? The written sources impose a salutary lesson of prudence over this point in the hypothesis.

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/The following three paragraphs are in small print in the original source./ An act of 916 Heg.: 1510, and one which offers some interest by reproducing this hapax that seems to have been, since Ibn Khaldûn, the name of the Genfisa, is a marriage contract, drawn up according to the habitual pomp of the style of the city. It anticipates a ṣadâq of 200 dinars, an unheard-of sum for the period. To which are added clothes, jewels, slave. The total is taken care of by the father of the husband, along with the production of real guarantees. A naqd is paid. There are stipulated as the responsibility of the husband, a curious thing in testimony emanating from such an ancient and supposedly such a rough milieu, "pleasantness in relations, the instruction of the woman in her religion, and in attention to the good." This text, by the style, the content, and, one might say, the sentiment, is discordant in these remote cantons.

Another act, more recent, and coming from the great family of the upper valley, this haunt of authenticity that the a. D'alh'a

Pl. X

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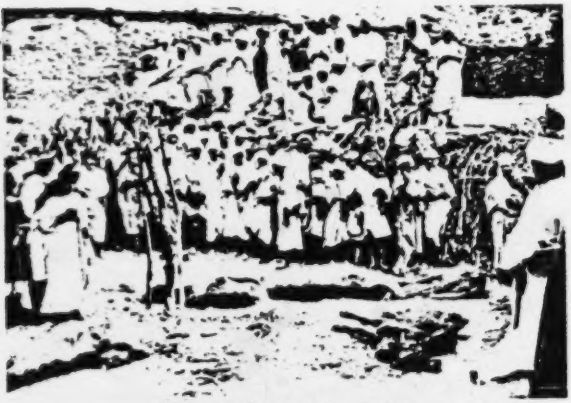

Hecatomb to Lalla Aziza (J. L. Berque)

It is the day of the sacrifice of July, tighersiwin yulyuz. Each victim is offered by a taqbilt. The amghar is the sacrificer. The gesture of the hands of those present is that of invocation.

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Invocation to Lalla Aziza (J. L. Berque)

The foqra, after the sacrifice of the victims, make a ddu^{c}a. In chorus they repeat the invocations of the moqaddem, which call for baraka for the partipants.

/49 cont./

776 Seksawa, Sidi ou Sidi of Taroudant, Sidi Sa^{c}id Ou ^{c}Abd en
[778] Na^{c}im of the Haha, and especially Sidi Ahmed Ou Mousa of the
[619] Tazerwalt, see numerous tribes of the same race assemble each
*[631] summer around their roofs of green tiles. These saints thus be-
•[782] long to very large social groups made up of one or several con-
[778] federations. It is they whom one invokes from a great distance to implore their protection or swear certain vengeance on an enemy. Kaids and chiefs driven from their homes, assassins in flight, come to seek refuge near their tombs, and the poets who address themselves to a large audience do not fail to call off their names before improvising their songs.

792 The marabouts of the tribes are less famous, but their role
[619] remains considerable. They have often left near their tombs
[778] numerous descendants, heirs of their "baraka" /Berber term indicating the quality of holiness/, who are invoked as arbitrators
695 in internal struggles. Their qoubbas /kubbas/ are the rendezvous
671 of the coswearers whom Berbère /Berber/ law requires to assemble in cases of murder or theft.

776 Finally come the saints of the cantons and villages, whose
789 /50/ names are sometimes obscure and enigmatic. The latter
[778] sometimes reveal their presence only by the existence of magic trees, sacred springs, or simple piles of stones. But their usefulness is no less. They protect the harvests, frighten thieves, and people put under their protection the cut wood, the plows, or, on the coast, the oars of the boats and the nets; they make the walnuts and olives ripen, provided that people come occasionally to celebrate near them a common meal accompanied by dances and songs. Little girls come to sleep on their tombs, in order to learn how to spin without effort; married couples, mounted on a mule, turn around them seven times in order to escape bad influences.
[173] It is through these unchronicled minor saints that the bond of Berbère /Berber/ Islam with the ancient beliefs, preserved more faithfully by the memory of the women than by that of the talebs, becomes manifest.

771 As a matter of fact the new religion has not succeeded in
178 making the old naturistic cults of former times disappear

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789 deliver to men their treasures hidden in the ground and their prodigious riches (1).

[113]

1. Doutté, Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord /Magic and Religion in North Africa/, Algiers, 1909, pp. 220-306.

789 In this way magic allows itself to be penetrated little by
791 little by religious influences. Consequently it can be said, if one excepts a few practices whose importance is manifest especially in domestic and family life, that in the Sous the cloak of Islam almost completely covers the survivals from the time of "jahiliya" -- of pagan ignorance. There is no ceremony, [782] initiation, rejoicing, war council, peace treaty, discussion for the choice of a leader which does not begin and end with an invocation to God, to his Prophet, and to one of the two great saints of the Sous: Moulay Brahim of the Kik, on the frontier of the North of Berbère /Berber/ country, and Sidi Ahmed ou Mousa of the Tazerwalt, patron of travelers and head of the family of the kings of the Gezzoula.

197 XII. The intellectual life. -- Islamization did not entail the decline of the Berbère /Berber/ language, whose vitality does not cease to manifest itself and which continues to express the particular genius of the inhabitants of the Sous. The Arab tribes themselves, settled in the central valley, understand the speech of the montagnards, and the small groups of the descendants of the Maᶜqil of the Sahara, who come to settle in the plain of the Chtouka and the Haha, soon forget their Bedouin dialect in order to adopt the one of the country. Arabic, however, is understood by the traders, the agents of the Makhzen /makhzan/, and all those, whose number is increasing today, whom temporary emigration /52/ carries into the tribes and towns of the Gharb /Rharb/. [554] But it is not rare still to find old scholars, of repute in the know- [212] ledge of religion and law, who read the language of the Koran

*634 /230 cont./
619 pledges consisting of a certain number of guns. If the guilty
692 ones are marabouts, who do not have guns, they pay a fine in
184 the form of animals destined for the common meals. The next
178 day, the "ajmoᶜa" moves on, following a traditionally fixed
[695] itinerary, and stops for two or three days, according to the size
[681] of the fractions. One night is spent at the zaouia of Sidi Brahim
[792] Ou ᶜAli, religious center of the confederation, where a solemn
*[782] sacrifice is offered to the saint. Finally, the circuit of justice
ends in the cantons of the north, and on the last day, at the
zaouia of Issouqal, the guilty ones come to pay their fines and
take back the guns they had pledged. The marabouts who played
[431] the role of conciliators or advisors receive gifts, and a sacrifice
[782] is offered to the saint of Issouqal. Then the remaining money is
[652] immediately divided into two halves; one goes to the "imzran,"
the other to the fractions represented by the Aït Arbaᶜin.

One conceives what difficulties are presented for making order prevail in the small republics incapable of naming moqaddem, and which cannot, in order to put an end to the disputes of rival "ikhs," always threatening, unite with their neighbors to carry out circuits of justice with large forces. Left to themselves, they become sources of agitation and private wars, unless a leader succeeds in imposing his will on the turbulent assembly of the Aït Arbaᶜin. Among the Ida Ou Tanan such is the fate of the isolated fractions of the Aït Wanoukrim, Aït Oulma, Iberouten, in the tribe of the Ifesfasen, which possess neither moqaddem nor powerful "ajmoᶜa" capable of having /231/ the decisions of the notables applied. The inhabitants try to constitute, after a fashion, by their own means, an "ajmoᶜa" to which come all the men under arms; but for lack of a tradition as respected as that of the Aït Ouᶜazzoun, the "ajmoᶜa" often ends in fights.

*634 A similar example of impotence is given us in the heart of
184 the Masmouda country by the little "taqbilt" of the Aït Tigidar, in the Asif el Mal, also endowed with a democratic constitution without moqaddem, amidst neighboring fractions that are more pacific and better organized. Discords multiplied to such a point
[578] in this small territory that the village of Assals, political center
[36]

/232 cont./

*634 578 726 628 [571] most trifling: a discussion turns sour, one passes on to insults, then to blows. The people of the village take sides, shots burst forth, and each one goes back into his house to prepare for war. But, before opening hostilities, the principal notables hasten to form, thanks to family alliances or a price in money, a powerful party capable of assuring them success. The two soffs fight sometimes for weeks, until an arrangement, which often takes into account the unequal number of victims on each side and the blood price claimed by the families, intervenes to re-establish peace.

/233/ Alliance pacts established by means of the exchange of clothes or "belgha" are not in use among the sedentary peoples of the South of Morocco. They are satisfied to look for allies by making them an "ʿar" /putting them in the relationship of protector/ by means of a sacrifice offered on the threshold of their house.

[571] [782]

*634 578 571 726 628 The causes, insignificant in appearance, of the war of the soffs most often mask the rivalries of the notables who fight over power. The quarrel of the villages is for them only a pretext for measuring their strength. Nevertheless, since this struggle imperils the unity and the strength of the State, the other heads of families often intervene as mediators, in order, they say, that the tribe will not be weakened (1).

1. Compare Sitte und Recht /Custom and Law/, Todgha, p. 149.

*634 578 726 628 [171] In the Haut-Atlas, as well as in Kabylie /Kabylia/ (2), the surest means of restoring order in a canton divided against itself is to revive ancient hatreds against the neighboring republics and to find again an occasion to appeal to the brotherhood of the leffs. Here again the causes of the war are trifling: insults

2. Hanoteau and Letourneux, La Kabylie /Kabylia/, Vol. II, p. 64.

159 /318 cont./
175 amghar of the Ind Maghous was less fortunate. Taken prisoner by
*634 a ruse of his enemy in the course of peace negotiations that fol-
726 lowed this defeat of the kaid of Amismiz, the independent minor
*631 chief was sent into the prisons of the Makhzen /makhzan/ at
[727] Tanger /Tangier/. ᶜOmar Touzzalti, rid of the rebel, then assembled a strong harka with the plains contingents of the Mejjat and of the Ouled Ben Sebaᶜ, then arrived at Adasil and /314/ repulsed the Aït Gaïr and the whole leff of the mountain "Indghertit" in the upper valleys.

175 The captivity of the amghar Mohammed has remained leg-
159 endary. According to tradition, a man of the country, disguised
*634 as a water carrier, was charged to send help to the prisoner in
697 secret. A few months afterwards, under cover of the bombard-
[648] ment of Tanger /Tangier/ by the French squadron during the summer of the year 1844, Mohammed fled in the general confusion. At the gate of the town he found a horse that had been
[976] providentially sent to him, for this chief was a saint, a "wali," in whose life the hand of God often appeared. Having come back to Marrakech, recognized and pursued, although he had hidden under a leper's hat in order to throw off suspicion, the amghar took refuge with the kaid El Moizz of the Mejjat. In spite of the searches, he succeeded in fleeing again, and, disguised as a
[778] woman, he reached the sanctuary of the Seksawa at Lalla ᶜAziza,
• [782] where he made a vow to let a lock of hair grow, a "chantouf," which he promised not to cut before having destroyed the house of the kaid of Amismiz.

175 The amghar, helped by circumstances, since ᶜOmar Touz-
159 zalti had left with the Sultan's army to fight the French and sup-
*634 port Emir ᶜAbd el Qader in Algeria, assembled the montagnards
726 of the two leffs, who put themselves under his authority for the
616 occasion in this war against the Makhzen /makhzan/, pounced on
[648] Amismiz and pillaged the kaid's casbah from top to bottom. After all these struggles the two leaders were reconciled and declared the were quits. Si ᶜOmar even married the sister of the amghar Mohammed. Back at Adasil, where he rebuilt his fortress, the amghar of the Ind Maghous returned to the government